

## VON TIRPITZ STORY OF GERMAN DEFEAT

(Continued From Previous Issue.)

From the first it was evident that our U-boat warfare would bring us into conflict with the United States. Had

we pursued a proper policy, however, it would not necessarily have come to war.

That is why I was against launching the submarine campaign before we had a sufficient number of the craft to make a wholesale drive against the commerce of England, and why I was against advertising the facts when we did actually begin our submarine warfare.

We should also have made clear the fact that our U-boat war was not a reprisal against England for her starvation policy, a point which we were always emphasizing, but that we were exercising a right which clearly and indisputably resulted from the maritime

law which England herself had created at the opening of hostilities.

The new weapon could not be adapted to standards which held for the capture of sailing ships of 100 years ago, but a right to new standards. Does anyone entertain a doubt that in the future other nations who are fighting for their existence will, like us, make use of the U-boat weapon even if international law forbids it?

**Wilson Forced to Back Demands.**

In the early days of the war we could have refused America's demands firmly

but, courteously, without danger of a break. The danger, however, would have been in the gradual growth and intensification of the war. While on the one hand our own prestige suffered incalculable harm with all our nations because we were a sign that we doubted our own ability to win, we ourselves forced Wilson to take a stand, the maintenance of which became a point of honor.

One of the practical advantages of yielding to America was shown by the fact that we were able to continue our operations in the Atlantic, but it is my desire to go somewhat more fully into the reasons which led to the United States. When the Lusitania was sunk, the navy regarded it as a great victory. We deplored the loss of life, but believed that we must make a firm stand and uphold it as our right. I telegraphed to headquarters from Berlin, where I had received the news.

Such a course would have greatly raised our prestige in America. On May 12 the cabinet chief wrote me that the emperor agreed with my view. (Editor's Note.—It is a strange twist of the German mind which conceives that Germany could raise her prestige in the United States by insisting upon her right to murder American citizens. It was such fatuous beliefs which led the Germans into many of the diplomatic blunders which turned the world against them.)

On May 15 we received the first Lusitania note, condemning our act and demanding indemnities. We hesitated in answering. There ensued a back-and-forth consulting between the different government bureaus, which lasted for weeks.

On May 31 a general consultation took place in Pless, presided over by the emperor. Admiral von Müller told Bachmann and me that the chancellor refused to accept any responsibility for the conduct of the U-boat war. As usual, Falkenhayn and Falkenhayn agreed with him. The chief of the naval staff and I declared that it was impossible to conduct the submarine warfare without political complications, and we must expect them.

The Kaiser supported us and said that if Bachmann would not take the responsibility of carrying out the U-boat campaign altogether, the present orders would stand. The result was that neutral vessels were to be spared, but all ships of whatever character were to be sunk.

**Urged Sinking of Passenger Ships.**

Then on June 5, against the wishes of Admiral Bachmann and myself, the chancellor obtained from the emperor new orders according to which all large passenger ships, even those of the enemy, were to be spared. A telegram which at the last moment was sent to the emperor by the chief of the naval staff and myself, arguing against this concession, remained unconsidered.

The chancellor thus saved his face before German public opinion by not abolishing submarine warfare but at the same time made it practically ineffectual because it was nearly impossible to determine without coming to the surface, which ships were passenger ships and which freighters.

As a result of this Admiral Bachmann and I tendered our resignations which were not accepted. On June 2 our ambassador in Washington reported that in a conversation with Wilson the president had said that his aim was the entire abolition of submarine warfare. By giving it up we would make a strong appeal through political morality, he pointed out, and only so could the war be ended, as a decision through force of arms was no longer possible.

Count Bernstorff urged us to accept this view as he said there was a possibility of an embargo on the export of arms to the allies. Otherwise there was a prospect of the breaking off of diplomatic relations with us and a boundless increase in the export of weapons. To my mind the idea that America would lay an embargo on the export of arms was Utopian.

In the beginning of June a reply to the Lusitania note was at last dispatched and called forth another note from America, which stated that our negative in tone, was so worded as not formally to repudiate an answer. In my opinion and in the opinion of many who knew America well, including Herr Ballin, director of the Hamburg American line, we were dispatched an answer to the American Lusitania note within 24 hours after we received Wilson's note. In it we should have requested the government of the United States to warn its citizens against taking passage on enemy passenger vessels and against their rights in the matter calling attention to the fact that the U. S. ignored the important concessions we had already made.

Our brooding for a fortnight gave the Americans the impression that the hearts of the German leaders were in their boots. It is well known that the men in Washington with their eyes off and the treatment of American questions should have been adjusted to the psychology of that nation.

So much for the views of Ballin and myself. Now for an authority on the other side of the question. On Aug. 3, 1915, the secretary of state, Mr. Lansing, wrote to the chancellor proposing that further restrictions be laid upon the export of arms to the allies, possibly three months.

He thought that the American government had unambiguously invited us to collaborate in securing the freedom of the seas. He hoped therefore that our drawing back after the American note would create a serious impression in America and Germany against England.

The cotton planters, he thought, would bring strong pressure to bear against Wilson that the German weaving industry would be saved from starvation and ruin. If we offered Wilson this fine opportunity to stand up for his ideals he must take it.

In Helfferich's opinion Germany should dispose of her opponents singly, as did the legendary Horatius, who retreated before the three Curiatii not cleverly that he separated them and disposed of them one by one. The reproach of cowardice, he maintained, was not that the Germans had lost the war, but that they had lost it so easily.

Editor's Note.—Von Tirpitz ignores the fact that while Germany continued to make fine sounding promises she continued to sink enemy passenger ships and neutral merchantmen, frequently causing the loss of American lives.

Already in the first exchange of notes in February, 1915, we had given Wilson an opportunity to form a combination of joint interests which the importable German capacity for delusion awaited from year to year.

In the mid-August commission, Von Jagow declared on Aug. 15, 1915, that we should not allow America to influence us in the U-boat war. But as soon as the American complaint was finished the chancellor, supported by Falkenhayn and Admiral von Müller, did all that he could to bring about a cessation of the submarine campaign.

The sinking of the English steamer Arabic was given as the excuse, although we had as yet received no report from any of our U-boat commanders. The Arabic case in itself was unimportant. What was needed was an understanding with America.

**Breakfast Hurries U-Boat Conference.**

On Aug. 20 Bachmann and I, under orders from the emperor, had a consultation with the chancellor at Pless. We had just received news from Washington that the situation was serious. Bachmann was for telegraphing Washington that all passenger steamers would be spared. Bachmann and I were for firing.

Then came our report to the emperor which was immediately handed, as we stated had been announced and the doors already stood open. It was decided that a note be submitted to the emperor for his approval. The next day, however, I was officially informed that a new order had been issued absolutely in compliance with the chancellor's wishes.

Following this I again tendered my resignation, which the emperor this time declined, saying that it would have a very bad effect at home and abroad. In his letter to me the emperor stated that whatever the conduct of the U-boat warfare he must assume the full responsibility.

I herewith present a tabular history of the U-boat warfare from the point of view of our internal administration. It was prepared for me by the then chief of staff of the naval command. The naval staff was responsible for the conduct of the naval submarine warfare, the Baltic and the Mediterranean. It is important because it shows the zig-zag course our political administration followed in the matter of the U-boat war.

Feb. 4, 1915.—Declaration of the war zone.

Feb. 14, 1915.—Because of urgent political reasons wireless messages sent to U-boats for the present not to attack ships sailing under a neutral flag. This order was scarcely practical at that time because of the inadequacy of the wireless outfits of the U-boats, which were too far out to receive the message.

Feb. 15, 1915.—Order from headquarters not to begin the U-boat or merchant ship war against neutrals on Feb. 18, but to await a special order. In consequence of this order the boats of the U-boat command were kept back and a full submarine activity ensued.

Feb. 15, 1915.—For Danish and Swedish navigation a strip was to be left free in which there would be no planting of mines or sinking of ships.

Feb. 20, 1915.—American and Italian flags to be spared in the North sea and the English channel. A free path for the Scandinavians also to be assured.

Feb. 2, 1915.—Executive order to open U-boat warfare on the west coast of England and Ireland. Particular caution recommended for American and Italian flags.

March 2, 1915.—The free strip for Scandinavians ships cancelled but there is to be no planting of mines.

March 10, 1915.—The free strip for Scandinavians unreservedly cancelled.

April 2, 1915.—Executive order to general of our submarines in submarine traps the coming to the surface is no longer required.

April 18, 1915.—Fresh warning to spare neutrals.

May 7, 1915.—Lusitania case. Regarding the navy as a great success. Engaged in the navy, the navy was to be no limitation, to which none of the limitations of the U-boat war were to be applied.

Editor's Note.—The German contention that the Lusitania was laden with ammunition was disproved by the fact that the commander of the U-boat was decorated with the Iron Cross.

June 6, 1915.—Order not to attack any large passenger steamers, not even those of the enemy.

June 26, 1915.—Commander of the fleet was to be no limitation, to which none of the limitations of the U-boat war were to be applied.

Reasons: "All receding from the war zone declaration must be looked upon as a political defeat."

"The intention of the war zone declaration was to be England's export and import, not to destroy certain ships. The sparing of neutrals and identifying them for ships sunk absolutely fosters trading with England under a neutral flag."

"Yielding gives support to the enemy statement that the intended warfare is barbarous."

"Only the energetic pursuit of the submarine war will change the advantage of England's insular position into a disadvantage. Would also be of immense importance for Germany's future development."

August 15, 1915.—The Arabic case. Great success. The Arabic case was the U-boat commander will be punished to obey the ordered limitations.

Aug. 27, 1915.—Ordered to send out no more U-boats for mercantile war until situation is cleared.

Aug. 30.—Ordered until further notice not even to sink small passenger vessels without warning and rescue of the crew.

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(To Be Continued.)

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